1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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against the glare and set out with a big rectangular net provided with floats at the top and weights below. The net is put down with a curve facing the land. Some of the women, aided by any men in the party drive in the fish. The women at the net pick the fish out of the meshes, bite the heads, and put the fish in their baskets.

A variation of this method of fishing is called hauling (*yavi*): the net is put down in a semicircle with its ends resting on the beach, and is then drawn in. I believe this is done only at high tide. There must be no coral about. Special large nets called hauling nets are used; they are modern and made with European fish line.

Native informants say:

It is bad to go to a grave before fishing, or the fish will go up to the net and turn back because the souls of the dead want to fish; for going to the grave has a supernatural effect (*manata*); the souls follow the one who went to the grave.

"Raw eyes" drive away fish. To remove the effects of it before going into the water, nets are held as they are in the sea and whipped lightly on one side, then on the other several times with leaves of *sinu;* then the leaves are thrown into the net, it is raised and drawn in as is done at sea when fish have been caught. The operation *sinumi* is then repeated in the water, with the words:

Sinu matumatu, sinu nggitawa, sinu vai [naming all kinds of fish] sinu ika tauthoko sa rawa i na mba lako mai i manda, lako mai i muri, lako mai loma, lako mai sau, lako mai tauthoko mai thoka i ei.	Sinu . . . . . . sinu of all fish that are caught in the fence, come before, come behind, come inside, come outside, come all of you and strike here.

Then the leaves are thrown away and care is taken not to raise the net as was done on shore. It is forbidden, while fishing, to point at the fish. The biggest *sangga* and the best fish are taken to the Roko Sau.

Yavi Rau

An entire village joins in the *yavi rau* (hauling in coconut leaves). In this the fish are brought to shore as with the large nets, but for the net a long rope of *walai*, as much as a half mile in length is substituted. The sides of the midribs of coconut leaves are stripped off with the folioles adhering and are wound spirally round this rope with the folioles sticking out like spikes. At high tide this rope is put in the water to form a vast circle. As the tide lowers, the men draw the circle tighter and tighter towards the shore leaving an opening on the land side which the women close with a net bag-shaped (*volu*). Outside the circle, the women stand with small nets to catch the fish that try to escape. The men close in upon the fish, which circle round and round and are driven into the net. When the net is full, it is folded over, and sticks are thrust through it to lift it up and put it into a canoe. It is opened in front of Big House, or if the Chief

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The ceremony of permitting clothes is made an excuse for obtaining such goods as may be wanted. Thus one lady who wanted to exchange bark cloth for mats with her kinsmen of Moala went there to perform the ceremony in honor of the deceased Moala kinsfolk, as she had not been in the island for a long time.

Long after all the feasts are over the relatives sometimes hang scented necklets over the grave, for any man who likes to carry away. Sometimes on those occasions they make kava at the grave.

For one man who died at sea and whose body was never recovered two upright sticks were set up on the beach, a horizontal one laid on this, and bark cloth and garlands hung, just as over a grave.

Formerly songs called *lele* were composed about the dead man and his qualities. None is now known.

When a man of Tumbou dies, his soul goes to Namukalevu, a projection of the reef on the east side of the passage. This place is called *i thimbathimba*, the place of dying, and a man is said to die to that place. Opposite the Court House, Tumbou, a sandy spit which runs out into the sea is said to be the causeway (*i kawakawa*) down to Namukalevu. A path of souls (*sala ni yalo*) is believed to be located in the Old Village. This is for Tumbou people only. The resting place of the soul is also called Mbulu (the same word as *mbulu*, to bury); the soul stays there forever, living as a noble. It is said that there is a big village beneath the sea, and that when a man dies the ghosts in Mbulu build him a house there. Levukans have the same dying place as Mbauans.

Emosi says the clan of Naitombo is an exception; while the rest of Valelailai go with Katumbalevu to Namukalevu, the Naitombo people go to heaven. If one of Naitombo were buried the burial party were overtaken by a shower before they could get home.

In the West it is believed that all Fiji including Lau has its dying place in Naithombothombo, evidently a variant of *i thimbathimba*. The place which bears that name is in Mbua, at the western end of Vanua Levu. Some Lauans accept this view. At Naithombothombo lights may be seen in the houses at night and the spirits heard talking like men. An euphemism for dying is: "His clothes have been carried to Naithombothombo."

There is a place in the West called "the dying place of pots" (*na i thimbathimba ni kuro*), because if a pot is broken its double (*yalo*) goes there.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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BELIEF IN THE SUPERNATURAL

Spirits

The usual word for spirits is *tevoro* (devil), a word evidently imported by the Tahitian missionaries as *tevolo*. Another word is *timoni* (demon) which seems to be more particularly a Moala word. 775 [177]

Three kinds of *tevoro* are recognized: *tevoro* proper; souls of the dead; *vu*, or *tevoro vu*, the ancestor spirit (*tevoro vu*) of old; Luveniwai, or Children of Water, which are like men, living in the home.

The word for soul (*yalo*) also means mind, disposition, intention; it takes the suffixed possessive—*yalona*. Reduplicated, it means shadow, reflection in the water, picture; it then takes the *O* possessive—*ona yaloyalo*. 774

A boy defined the soul as that whereby we live, move, and speak. Some boys place it in the midrib. The boy who defined the soul also thought that it goes away in sleep and returns in the morning; he did not know where it went, "Sometimes we dream that we shake hands with a person, but we wake up and find he is not there; we have shaken hands with his soul. The souls, though not visible, can see one another (*veirai vakayalo*)."

Another boy believes that when a man is weak and about to die, his soul goes away, either by day or night; it dislikes the body because it is nearly dead, and so refuses to stay in it. A soul that wanders away from the body is called *yalo mbula* (living soul) as opposed to *yalo ni mate* (soul of the dead). 763

It is believed that wraithes sometimes appear shortly before the death of the person, and that if the wraith is called, the person does not die. It is thought that the large green[1] grasshopper (in Mbauan, leaf grasshopper) bears the wraith, and appears to a kinsman when a person is about to die.

It was a moot point whether or not the word *tevoro* applied to wraiths. Wraiths are opposed to true spirits or spirits proper (*tevoro ndina*)—that is the souls of the dead and the *vu*; the true *tevoro* are also opposed to the Children of Water.

The word *tevoro* appears to be used of dead men, not their souls only. My impression is that it is used of the dead lying in the grave, though I have recorded no definite instance. It is sometimes used in the sense of "heathen"; the adjective *vakatevoro* (heathenish) is used of anything which is condemned by the Church from a heathen temple (*mbure vakatevoro*) to free love, which is described as living in heathen style (*tiko vakatevoro*); anything in which *tevoro*, spirits, are concerned is heathenish. 775 196

The old word which *tevoro* and *timoni* have displaced is *kalou*, which is now chiefly used to designate the Christian God, sometimes the Fijian gods (*kalou Vakaviti*). The word *kalou* is not now used of ghosts; but when 776 196

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776 196 Malani was young the people used indifferently *kalou* and *tevoro* of the souls of the dead; if the soul of the dead man came they said, "So-and-so has come as a *kalou* (*vakalou*)." The *tevoro vu* are frequently called *kalou vu* to the present day. The Children of Water were formerly known as *kalou rere*.

196 It will be seen that the words *kalou, tevoro, timoni,* do not correspond to any single word in our language. I shall therefore translate them ghost, spirit, god, elf, heathen, as the context may require. As for the word *turanga,* a definiteness may be introduced which is not in the original. A Fijian often would be at a loss to say to which class he is referring.

Miracles

778 196 The word *mana,* like almost all roots, can be a noun, an adjective, or a verb. It describes supernatural efficiency. Tui Tumbou gives the following explanation of the word: "A *mana* thing is a thing which was from the beginning and is *mana*; as for a spirit (*tevoro*) thing, if we speak to it, then the words of the spirit do *mana*; but if it does not come to pass they do not *mana*. If it is true (*ndina*), it is *mana*; if not true then it is not *mana*. A thing done by spirits is *mana*. In the Solomon Islands things *mana* because they were from the beginning. In Fiji they don't *mana*; they do *mana* once, but if another man uses them they don't *mana*. A Fijian medicine does *mana* if it works; it does not *mana* if it does not work."

The word *mana* is also explained as *yanga,* useful, effective. The opposite of *mana* is *ndai* which means to lie, to deceive, to be strong, to disappoint expectation.

The suffix *ta* makes *mana* transitive, in which case it means to act upon, to affect, as in the phrase: "*A thava e manati iko*" (What ails you?).

Ghosts

775 Ghosts live about graves; in fact a boy defined a grave as a place where ghosts abide. There were several graves within the school grounds so ghosts were quite common there, and much feared, so that people kept away at night. Ratu Finau sent word to my assistant not to go down at night alone to the village as the nobles were buried about there and might do him harm. One boy was afraid of cutting firewood near the graves lest the ghosts smite him; another attributed a swelling in his eye to a ghost from the graveyard among the ironwood trees. They did not like going alone at night because of ghosts. "How is it," I said, "I never see any one?"

"They are afraid of your lantern."

"Sometimes I do not take one."

"Oh! white men if they see a ghost say it is a man."

"Why do not ghosts come into my house at night?"

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"Because the house is closed."
"It is not."
"Ghosts are afraid of the dog."
"And when I had no dog?"
"They were afraid of the cat."
"And when I had no cat?"
Silence. "Why are you not afraid when there are two of you?"
"We are bold because we talk."

One night shortly before cockcrow a boy got up and saw what looked like a man going from the assistant-master's house towards the graveyard; he knew it was a ghost because his own hair stood on end, besides the person's kilt was bright. Once we saw a light on the hills: there was much excitement and a discussion took place whether it was a spirit, a man, or a bushfire; at last from its immobility it was concluded it was a spirit. A boy thus describes his meeting with a spirit:

> We were sitting together as it was getting towards evening, when my back was hit by a stone. I thought some one had hit me; but when we set off for the village the spirit came and stooped over the oven and ate the sweet potatoes in the oven. Tuvukapa, an old man, took a spear and hit the *tevoro*, which turned into a spirit. This spirit was like a man, but green like the shade of a reading lamp.

Melaia once asked me if I had ever seen *tevoro* in Europe, "the souls of the dead you know." One night a half-caste who had perished at sea came and sat on Loata's chest so that she cried out and awoke.

The soul of a man that has been slain is called a soul of the slain (*yalo ni moku*). The place where he was killed is feared.

Spirits are believed to strike people. A Lomaloma boy had a scar on his leg which was due to his having been struck by a ghost: one day he was standing in a paddock close to a grave; suddenly he became dizzy, his sight became dim, and he fell; upon reaching home he found his leg was bleeding.

Spirits enter a man and eat him. Some spirits are called devouring spirits (*kalou kana*).

A boy once walked in his sleep. Upon being told of it, he shivered with fright and declared a spirit had entered him. Some men are mad because spirits attack their souls (*valata a yalondra*), they lead their souls astray. There is a madman in Yandrana called Taikiko. He once fell from a tree and wounded his head on a stone. My boy supposed a spirit had entered him; though weak, he could carry big loads; the spirit must carry them. When they heard Taikiko spoke to himself, they said, "Ah! It is plain the spirits are with him." If Taikiko sings or goes round Lakemba some one will die; some say a person will die on the side by which he sets

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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775 out; if a child is about to die he carries the stalk of a coconut bunch or leaf as firewood for the child's death feast.

Formerly a man's relative would enter him, and be embodied in him, (*vakatolo*, having a body), and would prophesy a famine. Of old a man at his death became the god of his son, his soul was the god of his son. The spirits of a medicine (*kalou ni wai*) are the spirits, the man's kinsmen, or whatever it be. Formerly feasts and many things were offered as supplications to the souls of men. If a man were ill, a feast would be offered with the words, "So-and-so is ill, etc." Then prayers would be made over it (*masulakina*) and the name of the father uttered. A house would be built over a grave as a supplication on behalf of a sick child.

The soul of Malani, the second Tui Naiau, "jumped on" (*rikata*, possessed) Mbeteninggalulu, a Yandrana man, who told the people to build a temple for Malani.

One boy was inclined to ascribe anything inexplicable to spirits:

> Turtle fishing with a sucker fish is considered spirit work, because if the fish sought out the turtle that fish must be a spirit, for to a spirit all things are easy; true a horse is obedient to the will of man, but the horse is a man-like animal; but, if you catch a fish and let it go again, will it know you again?—If a cock crows at the wrong time it is due to spirits. Perhaps developing negatives has to do with spirits.

The following animals were enumerated by boys as being spirits: the kingfisher (*sethala*), the black ant (*kandi*), the *mburongo*, the *sise*, and the owl (*lulu*).

It is believed that the spirit enters the body of an animal in order to attract man through his curiosity and to overcome his soul, rendering him mad and causing him thus to follow the ways of spirits.

Deities

Introduction

96 The word *vu* may best be rendered by the French word *souche*, it means the stem of a tree, the base, origin, cause, reason. It is added to the word *tevoro* or *kalou*, and the expression *tevoro vu* is defined as "the origin of the land, whence men originate", (*a vu ni vanua e vu kina a tamata*). The word is sometimes used alone, or in the expression *vu ni vanua* (origin or ancestor of the land). These gods however are constantly spoken of simply as *tevoro*, *timoni*, or *kalou*, and the word *vu* is only used to make it plain. I have some doubt in fact whether the world is strict Lauan. The Polynesian word *tupua* is largely used instead of *vu*, especially in the Southern Islands.

344 Temples are called *mbure kalou* (spirit halls), or simply *mbure*. As none is extant I must refer to Williams (18). His drawing of Nautuutu how-

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ever is certainly wrong: he gives it a circular mound, whereas the modern remains show it to have been certainly square, and so the people also say.

PRIESTS

In Matuku it was stated that when a priest died, after a time the spirit entered a man of that clan and that man quaked. The chief then asked the name of the spirit. They then anointed the man in the temple with yellow. Neither the priest nor the man who anointed him could touch food for four days, after which they bathed. The proceedings were compared to those for a manslayer (p. 143), only the priest was not subject to tapu. At this time the women went to fish, but were forbidden to put the fish in their baskets: they lifted the net and those who fed the priest snatched the fish and placed them alive before him. After two days a taro patch was dug about the size of a mat. In this they planted big suckers that they might not die. This was called "making free the earth."

The spirit was said to "jump on a priest," that is, to possess him. He then prophesied. If they wanted to consult the oracle they presented food to the spirit by way of entreaty, addressing him as *mbongimbongi*, that is, dawn. When people were ill an entreaty was made. When they recovered a feast was made with kava. The first cup was poured at the foot of the post, after which the people clapped; the second was drunk by the priest who was said to *rambe*, as a herald does for a chief (p. 61).

A thanksgiving offering made when people had obtained their request was called *i mandrali*.

When they made puddings the first one was taken to the temple; this was called *i singana* (*singana;* to put in the sun). The first of anything thus offered was so called. The term was also used of the bodies of the slain offered at the temple. It is also used of the first pudding taken to the chief.

ANCESTOR GODS

The god (*kalou*) of Navuanirewa, that is of the nobles, had no name. It was not a true god (*kalou ndina*), but an abortion, so it was spoken of as the spirit of the house (*kalau ni vale*), which was nothing but the spirits of the children that died in the house. It was spoken of as child (*ngone*) or Solosolombalavu. Its temple was Salia.

The *kalou* of all Katumbalevu including the nobility was Tokairambe. His temple was called Mauthori. The Mauthori branch of Katumbalevu were the priests. Tokairambe was spoken of as Thingumbob of Mauthori (*ko ka mai Mauthori*), or the god (*tevoro*) of Mauthori.

Tokairambe's body (*tolo*) was a hawk (*taiseni*). A man of Katumbalevu might not kill the hawk, or the god (*tevoro*) would kill him.

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764 in many caves today. Informants said that the weapons of warriors were buried with them and that bodies were occasionally placed in canoes in the caves. Moto of Undu said that when his grandfather died the family was living in a small cave. The body was laid in the cave and the family remained.

Moto said he heard from his father that in olden days some of the land people were exposed on frames in the bush. No other informant had heard of this custom.

Some informants said that there were no cemeteries in pre-Christian times, others that each hamlet had its own cemetery (*mbulumbulu*) where some of its members were buried. The chief of Kambara said that the nobles were interred in the ground, whereas the common people were placed in caves. Archaeological excavation is necessary to check these statements. After the introduction of Christianity each village had a cemetery in which all bodies were buried.

A child was often buried in the mound (*yavu*) of his parents' sleeping house, which continued to be used. Moreover, the Mothe people said that Ului Lakemba II was buried in his house mound on Ndelaimakotu. The first-born of Valakevoro, two generations ago, was buried in his house. House burial for adults, however, seems to have been less prevalent in Lau than it was in Viti Levu. A well-informed chief stated that house burial was formerly the rule in Viti Levu, and suggested that the importance of the old house sites in Fiji may be attributed to their being also ancestral burial places.

No evidence was found of cremation, urn burial, or sea burial.

[775] Formerly the ghosts of men who were buried alive haunted the villages for four nights and then went to Nai Thimbathimba (pp. 114-115).

388 Informants on Fulanga said that when the *tui naro* (headman) of Vandra-
737 vandra clan became old and feeble he was taken to Taluma Islet (fig. 2, 41) in the lagoon and abandoned (*seno*). Mosesi told me that on Lakemba there is a cave filled with skeletal remains of old people who died there after having left the community.

Food for the dead

764 Once only while I was in Lau I saw a package rolled in a somewhat dry leaf placed by relatives on a grave a few days after a burial. The grave was that of a young woman who had died in Tokalau. Natives said the package contained boiled flour and water left uneaten by the deceased and that it was placed on the grave so that her soul would have food. Tchosaia of Kambara said this was never done in olden days.

Memorials

Stones are occasionally erected as memorials to the dead (*lawa ni mate*). A meter high, upright limestone marks the spot on the beach between Lomatchi

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generations ago and founded the clan. The main gods of the clan, however, were those of the Vatuwangga clan at Lakemba from whom Ului Lakemba was descended (p. 38; table 2). The gods of Mbutonikoro were incarnated in the *thau* tree, the *kanathe* fish, and the *tchilio* bird. The slogan of the clan was "Kana kana kalou" (*kana*, food; *kalou*, god).

The chief priest on Mothe belonged to the Kamali clan. The foundation of the principal god house, located on the old Kamali hamlet site in west Mothe, may still be seen. It is surrounded by sweet smelling plants. It is still regarded as a sacred place, and as they approach it the Mothe people become silent and remove their turbans and ornaments. The god of Kamali was incarnated in the scaled shark (*nggio thave*), the *vivili*, and the *matamila* fish which were tabu to Kamali. Members of the clan think that the *kaisevou* bird, which is common on Mothe, used to be tabu also. The principal forefather of Kamali is not known but the clan genealogy is traced seven generations back to the priest Mirakilangi. Other priests in the clan pedigree are Malanamailangi, Wanggathiri, Ndolosambau, and Mbatchimalungu.

The main forefather of the Vunikoro clan on Fulanga was called Rokoratu. He built the fortified village of Unduundu. He was worshipped at Mbure Kalou Levu (The Great Temple), called also Mbure ni Kalou Rokoratu, which was located at the old fortress of Unduundu on the hill behind Muanaithake. He was incarnated in the *ulumburu* fish and the *sewa matua* fish which were formerly tabu to Vunikoro.

The chiefs' group believed that toward the west or northwest lay not only the land of their origin but also the abode of the dead (p. 118).

I have concluded from the above that in contrast with the land group the chief group did not possess true totems. They did, however, possess clan ancestor gods which were incarnated in species of natural phenomena.

THE PRIESTHOOD

A hereditary priesthood is associated with ancestor worship in Lau. It was apparently also introduced by the chiefs' group.

Informants say that in the old days the priests outranked the chiefs. According to tales this was so at the time of the Ndaunisai migration. The following tale, common in Lau, records the division of power between the priests and chiefs:

Nggileso, the chief priest, had two sons, Nggoma and Ndelaivungalei. Nggoma succeeded Nggileso and sent Ndelaivungalei to Naiau for mats to use in the god house. Ndelaivungalei secured the mats but he remained on Naiau and became chief. He had a son named Niumataiwalu and a daughter. Nggoma had two sons. When they reached maturity they were sent to their uncle on Naiau for mats. Nggoma's sons disliked Ndelaivungalei and on the way to Naiau they planned to kill him. They were received at Naiau, and the chief of Naiau asked them for ingredients for a pudding to eat at

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after first intercourse at marriage, at the pregnancy ceremony, and after childbirth; boys do so after circumcision; and both sexes do so after an illness. Smoke is used to protect a turtle net against the pernicious influence of the glance or touch of a pregnant or a menstruating woman.

THE DOUBLE SOUL

The superhuman world of the Lauan is peopled not only by spirits and ancestor ghosts but also by the disembodied souls of the living. These disembodied souls are still just as real to them as humans. They appear at any time of day or night, frequently in human form, but also in the form of animals, fish, or birds. Some are friendly and aid them in life, others are hostile and greatly feared.

Each human being has two souls, a good soul (*yalo vinaka*) and a bad soul (*yalo tha*). The bad soul occasionally leaves the body of a living being, who remains unaware of its absence, and wanders about playing tricks on unsuspecting human victims. Such a bad soul appears in the physical form of the human being to whom it belongs, and can be identified only by its ability to vanish. The victim mistakes the bad soul for its owner and is lured into danger or death. For instance, Ndakai was walking down a rocky path on Kambara. He met a man and began to talk to him. Ndakai fell and broke his leg. He looked around but the man had vanished, so Ndakai knew that he had been talking to the man's bad soul, which had caused him to slip.

Illness is often due to the absence of the good soul. If it returns the patient recovers, otherwise he dies (23, p. 128). When a person dies his good soul goes to Nai Thimbathimba where it starts on the journey to the abode of the dead (pp. 114-115). His bad soul frequently remains, at least for a short time, near his home on earth and frightens human being.

ABODE OF THE DEAD

There are conflicting beliefs concerning the destiny and abode of the soul (*yalo*) after death. The dominant belief, introduced by the chiefs' group, is that when a man dies his soul goes to Nai Thimbathimba, a "jumping-off" place found on or near each island, usually facing the west or northwest. From here the soul goes to Nai Thombothombo, the land of souls, (*vanua ni yalo*) located on the Mbua coast, Vanua Levu (fig. 1). The natives say that a person near Nai Thombothombo cannot sleep or hear his own voice because of the noise.

Nai Thimbathimba of the Kambara and Wangava people is a high rock located on the west point of Wangava (fig. 2, 17). There the souls call for a wave which transports them to Nai Thombothombo.

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Thimbathimba of Fulanga is at Vatu Iri, a rock on the beach south of Muanaithake. There the soul stands on the sand near the rock, and if he is of the chief group he calls, "Lele mai na mua vesi" (Carry me home, canoe of hardwood)! A noble calls for a canoe of greenheart because on earth he has used the chiefly canoe of the dark wood of the greenheart. Then a hardwood canoe in the form of a dark wave comes and carries the soul to Nai Thombothombo. A soul from the lower class also goes to Nai Thimbathimba, but he calls, "Lele mai na mua uto" (Carry me home, canoe of soft wood)! A commoner calls for a canoe of soft wood because he has used such a canoe on earth. Breadfruit (*uto*) is a light-colored, soft wood. A canoe made of soft wood in the form of a light wave comes and takes the commoner's soul to Nai Thombothombo. As the soul departs the widow of the deceased sees the smooth trail of the canoe and pours oil onto the water.

Kalo of Fulanga, who belongs to the sea people, says that souls from Muanaithake village go to Tetesawa, a rock at the end of the beach. From there they jump into the water. A smooth water path forms between the waves so that the soul can pass on the same day through Salia (fig. 2, 42), the passage at the main entrance to the Fulanga lagoon. Kalo does not know where the soul goes afterward but assumes that it enters a fish or something that lives in the water.

Nai Thimbathimba of Ongea is located at a place named Lau on the northwest end of Ongea Levu (fig. 2, 45). Informants on Ongea say that formerly footprints of a man or marks of a crawling child could be seen in the sand there after a death, but they do not know where the souls go from Thimbathimba.

Nai Thimbathimba of the Namuka people is a tree which leans over the lagoon from a small island about 500 meters from the village (fig. 2, 27). From the tree the souls leap into the water and onto a wave. Each time a soul leaves a small branch of the tree withers, so that sailors returning from a long journey know how many Namukans have died in their absence.

Nai Thimbathimba of Mothe is a *sinu* tree in Vanganduku. From there the souls go elsewhere but their destination is not known.

Ono has two Nai Thimbathimbas, one for the souls of the villages of Lovoni and Nakui and one for souls of the villages of Marakawa and Ndoi. Natives say the souls of the first two go to Tuvana-i-tholo, a small island, and from there they go to Mbutundromu, which was later called Mburotu; the souls of the last two go to the island of Tuvana-i-ra and thence to Mburotu.

The legend of Mburotu, an island paradise or land of the dead, located under the sea and filled with beautiful women, is common in Lau. The belief in an island paradise is apparently unrelated to the beliefs of either the early

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775 inhabitants or the immigrants in Lau. Similar concepts are found, however, in Tonga and other neighboring parts of Polynesia.

The Kambara people say that Mburotu is an island situated between Ono and Matuku. In olden days it was above the water but now it is submerged. The trees, like everything else on this island, are red so it is called Mburotu Kula (Red Mburotu). The island is inhabited by beautiful women so it is called *vanua ni alewa* (land of women). They are clean and light skinned like Tongans and Samoans. The women are spirits who never die. Many men have tried in vain to find Mburotu. In olden days Kumbunavanua, a chief, lived on the island. He had two canoes. He went to Totoya in one while his two sons went in the other to Moala. When Kumbunavanua left Mburotu the island disappeared.

The land people believed in a local abode of the soul after death. According to Moto of Undu, when a man of the Kambaran lower class died his soul went with a hissing sound to Nggara Levu (Big Cave), a burial cave located near the *ngingia* tree. Nggara Levu is the abode of the souls of the early inhabitants. The following tale is told:

> When Ramatau, a man of the lower class who lived near Lomatchi, died he said, "Take me to Nggara Levu." The people took him to the beach and decided to bury him there, but he said from beneath his cover, "This is not Nggara Levu." So they took him to Vatoa because Nggara Levu was far from Lomatchi. At Vatoa he said again, "This is not Nggara Levu." So finally they took him to Nggara Levu.

Moto says he has heard that the souls of the land people went from Nggara Levu to the highest rock on the reef, which is shaped like the roof of a house. He has not heard whether or not the souls of the land people go to Mburotu, but he says that this rock faces Mburotu and is connected with it by means of a submarine coral formation.

SECRET SOCIETIES

NANGA

575 Moto says that the commoners of Kambara formerly had a secret society called Nanga, which was "very, very old" and had ceased to exist before his time. All Moto knew about it was that it was secret and that it existed before the migration from Viti Levu to Lau. No other information regarding the Nanga in Lau was obtained.

A secret society called Nanga was formerly found in a limited area in central and western Viti Levu. According to Fison (7, pp. 14-30) the Nanga was a secret society consisting of three age groups, into which all the males of the community were initiated. The purpose of the society was induction of the grown men into full tribal membership. The rites took place in a sacred rectangular stone enclosure and consisted of offerings to ancestral spirits,

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

If the child is born dead the body is kept near the mother for three or four nights. It would be harmful to the mother to take it way sooner. She would grieve and become ill with a sickness characterized by fainting, body pains, and sleeplessness. Still births are buried in the village cemetery above a previous burial from the same clan. If both mother and child die they are wrapped in one funeral bundle and buried in one grave. Formerly the natives believed that their souls went to Nai Thimbathimba, the jumping off place for the souls of the departed.

As a rule the father does not see the child before it is "on the mat". He usually bathes and puts on a clean *lavalava* before entering the house. The child is presented to him by his mother or by his wife's mother. He breathes upon him through his nose, the only native method of kissing, holds him for a moment, and returns him without a word.

For several months after the child is born the father sleeps in the men's house of his clan or in his father's house. Formerly he slept in another house until the child was weaned, and some men observe this custom today. Intercourse with his wife is tabu until the child is weaned, lest the child get a sickness called *ndambe* (pronounced en-dam'-bē), or the mother become pregnant. A man who breaks the tabu is called "expert at causing *ndambe*". A child with this illness cannot walk, but crawls on all fours with feet flat on the ground. If a woman becomes pregnant while she is nursing, people blame her husband because her milk will become "bad" and harm the suckling child. The tabu against intercourse is occasionally broken today, but apparently not often, for practically all children in any one family are at least 18 months apart. The husband is supposed to be continent during this period, but he usually has clandestine affairs with women who do not stand in the tabu relationship to him.

The child is named on the day of birth by the father's mother after a member, usually an ancestor, of the clan. If the parents are very fond of a child they give him several

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

may kill, harm, or eat it. The appearance of the red shark is still considered a good omen, and it is propitiated frequently from canoes or on the beach with offerings of food, kava or wreaths. It was also tabu for commoners of Kambara to kill or eat the red rooster.

Members of the upper class formerly believed that all the inhabitants of the Lau islands journeyed after death to a jumping-off place called Nai Thimbathimba (pronounced Nai Thim'-ba-thim'-ba) on the west or northwest side of each island, and from there sailed by canoe to Nai Thombothombo (pronounced Nai Thom'-bo-thom'-bo) at the extreme western end of Vanua Levu. The commoners, on the other hand, believed in a local abode of the dead.

This was the native outlook on life at the beginning of the nineteenth century when the first Christian missionaries to Fiji landed at Lakemba.

THE CANNIBALS ARE CONVERTED

Endua na kunea maivei na mbula?
Sa na kunei mai Mburotu Kula

Where shall we find the life?
It is to be found in the Red Paradise.

From the teachings of Navosavakandua[49]

THE Christian gospel, based on the importance of the spiritual life of the individual, on monotheism, and on brotherly love, presented a striking contrast to the more worldly native outlook on life which the missionaries encountered in Fiji. Christian ideals such as peace, the sanctity of human life, and monogamy were equally foreign to the Fijian before contact with the west. The missionaries introduced the idea of heaven and hell with the word "devil" (*tevoro*) into native ideology. They reduced the native hierarchy of ancestor gods to a hierarchy of devils ruled by the all powerful Christian

[48] A. B. Brewster, op. cit., p. 251.